

882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any  
 593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from  
 the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's  
 remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion,  
 other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy  
 is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδί κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the  
 593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his  
 576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the  
 instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he  
 does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly,  
 he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about  
 sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the  
 882 village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively  
 576 gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the  
 coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and  
 are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to  
 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,  
 884 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to  
 593 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he  
 576 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son  
 295 no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is be-  
 701 cause a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in  
 a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids  
 giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by  
 entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop,  
 the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.

- 561 After his return from military service, the young man becomes  
 a member of the 'pallikari' group\* of fully adult but unmarried  
 577 men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is  
 expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to  
 give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness  
 by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.  
 559 He cannot do these things in front of his father, without  
 diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

\* Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρη is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles  
 579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the  
 867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative  
 [624] role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes  
 a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation  
 of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the  
 leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern  
 of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual  
 modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this  
 purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the  
 encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical  
 punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13-21 years of age  
 882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect  
 to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a  
 daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to  
 discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his  
 premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father  
 against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a  
 son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes  
 through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his  
 efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of  
 884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'  
 [554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any  
 [561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argu-  
 mentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and  
 publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for  
 a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however,  
 showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition  
 with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment  
 to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little  
 888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and  
 as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with  
 his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his  
 grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she  
 554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a  
 888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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554 honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

### 3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

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554 The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at [577] various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

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● [561] Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

462 The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. [558] A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy [562] water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

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562 As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

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Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

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This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

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For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παῖδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

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But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

*Zagori*

888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,  
 156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the  
 577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-  
 [597] fied but quiet (*ἥσυχος*). He ought to be quiet in the very  
 literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of  
 his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order.  
 Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and  
 prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to  
 acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his  
 release from the worries and cares of leadership and the know-  
 ledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour  
 untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a  
 sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will  
 have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to  
 be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be  
 judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on  
 the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no  
 shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man  
 of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children,  
 or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the  
 other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and  
 good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed  
 at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the  
 practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with  
 respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both  
 the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious  
 calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now  
 near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral  
 conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their  
 generation.

● 561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The  
 884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age  
 582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage,  
 generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six  
 years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations  
 577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the  
 884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsi-  
 831 bilities permits the young man to live according to the values of

884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an  
 156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially  
 577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which  
 834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of  
 others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that  
 causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a  
 greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often  
 through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The  
 [297] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with  
 these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only  
 twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the  
 feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings  
 which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they  
 do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age  
 • [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect  
 [28] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought  
 to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving  
 cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the  
 public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested  
 [584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-  
 katsani thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or  
 through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way  
 to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to  
 577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.  
 834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the  
 885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her  
 vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that  
 she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be  
 as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,  
 if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.  
 A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her  
 public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in  
 the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I  
 have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express  
 exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.  
 Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to  
 move about more freely and with less supervision. She must  
 appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).  
 It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife  
 of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

## THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 291

The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable.

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as *τιμος*, honourable. Clearly *τιμος*, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than *τιμη*, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with *τιμη* remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned.

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN:  
NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

If the man who is *τιμος*, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals.

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585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-  
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the  
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company  
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,  
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of  
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers  
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

(264) /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in

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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert  
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older  
(593) ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family  
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has  
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the  
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.

(562) Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

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474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances  
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.  
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594 Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal  
554 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management  
or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the  
management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safe-  
guarding their own interests:

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning  
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the  
179 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing  
he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders  
which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain,  
the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them  
to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody  
benefits from his services.

(161) The education of the children is also carried out collectively.  
They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of  
women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of  
Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a  
(1872) time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading  
(1875) and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.  
(562)

\* \* \* \*

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the  
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show  
(567) respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization  
which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to  
further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the  
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline  
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in  
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

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596 are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected  
554 to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his  
[601] sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among  
[114] the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See  
also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/,  
and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of  
the wife.

596 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a  
601 wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the  
husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and  
"aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate  
his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are  
generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was  
necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has  
become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she  
nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded  
her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them,  
too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-  
in-law."

596 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are  
561 required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the  
554 same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus  
operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date  
of their entry into the family circle.

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517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

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517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

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561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

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152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders  
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they  
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face  
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani  
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to  
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from  
177 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined  
476 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we  
233 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that  
cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the  
economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising  
carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social  
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.  
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle  
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the  
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the  
Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the  
myths supplement it."